97-84046-20

Sumner, Malcolm

The Russian evolution

[New York]

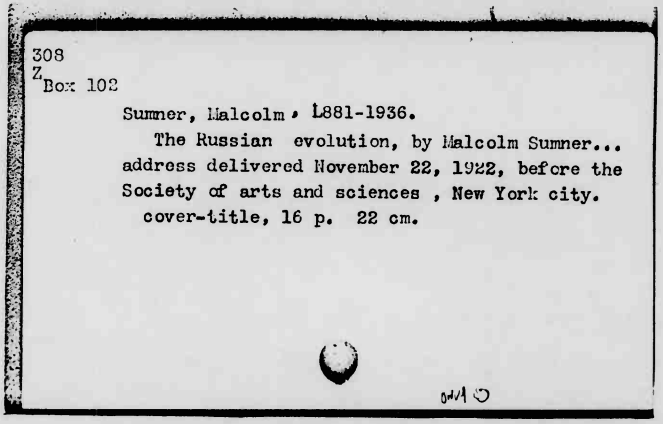
[1922]

97-84046-20
MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DIVISION

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD


308
Z
Box 102
Sumner, Malcolm, 1881-1936.
The Russian evolution, by Malcolm Sumner...
address delivered November 22, 1922, before the
Society of arts and sciences, New York city.
cover-title, 16 p. 22 cm.

RESTRICTIONS ON USE: *Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.*

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm REDUCTION RATIO: 10:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 3-24-97 INITIALS: MB

TRACKING # : 22237

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

Through the President's Office

Box

THE
RUSSIAN EVOLUTION

308
Z
Box 102

By

MALCOLM SUMNER

of the New York Bar

Address delivered November 22, 1922, before
the Society of Arts and Sciences
New York City

THE RUSSIAN EVOLUTION

The Moscow Government celebrated this month the fifth anniversary of the Soviet regime. In those five years we have seen the passing from power of Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau, Orlando and Lloyd George and similar dramatic changes in the ministries of other European countries. Since the war Europe's economic conditions have grown more chaotic, until today, generally speaking, she lies in a slough of despondency. Lénin alone of all the national leaders who directed the destinies of their countries at the time of the Armistice remains in supreme power. Russia stands out today as the country of continental Europe which appears economically to be growing strong the most rapidly. The answer to this seeming paradox is, that Europe has been and still is facing drastic changes, whereas Russia has her revolution behind her.

It has been as difficult for Americans to comprehend the processes of the Russian revolution as it has been for the Russian people to understand our attitude of aloofness from their post-Czaristic problems. Russian psychology does not permit them to understand why our great American Republic which so generously answered her call for relief in her terrible famine has not also opened America's doors of political and industrial helpfulness to facilitate Russia's revival.

THE REVOLUTION

Since the first revolution of 1906 every American expected and many of us encouraged, a revolution against Czarism, the worst tyranny the world had known. When this revolution came, we stood aghast at its staggering excesses marked by violence and terror, by the destruction of property and industry and by a blighting famine overwhelming a country formerly the granary of Europe.

The American people have properly condemned those excesses, but if we would be constructive, we should also endeavor to better understand the dramatic history of that great adventure. Let us

first recall that 87% of Russia's population were illiterate peasants; that 5 or 6% consisted of a highly developed autocracy and that the remaining 7 or 8%, who were opposed to the Czaristic regime, consisted of industrial workers and merchants with diversified theories of economic, and various shades of political, beliefs,—a conglomerate collection of ultra-radicals and fantastic visionaries. Thus when the revolution came, there were none experienced in orderly progressive government or nationally recognized as leaders capable of directing, least of all controlling, this tremendous change affecting one hundred and fifty million people. The rebellious spirit of these unshackled serfs had been intensified by their increased miseries suffered during three years of war. Those who assumed the leadership of these illiterate millions (spread out over an area more than twice that of all Europe and nearly three times that of the continental United States, and being in number nearly one-third greater than the entire population of the United States), were necessarily extreme reactionaries without political or economic experience.

The history of the Revolution can be divided into three periods. The first lasted from October, 1917, to the fall of 1918. It was marked by little violence and terror, but was characterized by the nationalization of land and other property and by the disintegration of the established order of industry and civilization. This period ended when foreign intervention began. The second period lasted until the spring of 1920 and was marked by civil war and foreign aggressions. The attacks against the Soviet power made by Kolchak in Siberia, Denikin in South and Central Russia, Judinitsch in the North, and last by Wrangel, all of whose armies were munitioned and financed by the Allies, in addition to the wars with bordering states like Poland, Lithuania and Finland, not only served to strengthen the Soviet's control through a fusing of all sectional interests into a national patriotism, but compelled the organization of a large modern army. These attacks from within and without also brought on the bloody terror and the suppression of all liberties. The third period, through which Russia is now passing, has been marked by the steady rise within the Soviet ranks of a

Moderate party protesting against useless bloodshed and tyranny in efforts to restore Russia to sane economic life. The struggle between the Moderates and the Extremists in this tremendous task of reconstruction, is still going on, but the power of the Extremists appears to be constantly diminishing while that of the Moderates is steadily growing. The complete collapse of industry, as well as the famine, have shown the Russian people that peace and the rehabilitation of agriculture and industry can be more readily accomplished by gradual modification of the former policies of the present Government than by a new revolution.

PEASANTS' INCREASED POWER

The only basis of Russia's economic prosperity in the past has been her agriculture. Before the war her population was over 85% peasants and over 80% of her exports were food products. Two years of good harvests, it has been reliably stated, will put her in about the same economic position as she was before the war when she had an exportable surplus of from ten to fifteen million tons of grain and food products. It will also put the peasant in a far stronger position than the Russian workman, unless her industry is also successfully revived. Last year there were between twenty-five and thirty million people endangered by famine. At one time the American Relief Administration fed a maximum of ten million. This year it is estimated that a total of not exceeding seven and a half million will require relief of which American charity plans to take care of one-third.

The changes wrought in Russia's evolution during the past year have been highly significant. There are many things to confirm the genuineness and intensity of the internal processes turning her away from Marxism and other communistic dogma. The most compelling force has been the peasantry. The industries of the cities are ruined and the industrial workers of the towns have reached the end of their resources. The proletariat of these industrial centers wrought the excesses and the havoc of the revolution, but their Bolshevistic tendencies and communistic ideas were substantially modified in the civil war

which destroyed industry and by the famine which overwhelmed the cities. They found that the Marxian ideas on which their minds had fed, afforded no nourishment for a hungry body. Thus the peasantry became the dynamic force in Russia's evolution to the right. They are the only people with means to buy. A noteworthy effect of the revolution and civil war upon the prosperity of the present food producers of Russia,—similar to the effect which the war and post-war conditions have produced upon the farmers of most other countries,—is that it has increased the breadth of their consumptive requirements in the necessities of modern life, as to variety, as well as quantity and quality.

History shows that after every revolution the processes of evolution toward stability and normalcy have been gradual. With each move forward of the progressive policies of the Moderates, one must be prepared for a retreat, even though short and temporary, against the retarding policies of the reactionaries. The general consensus of opinion is that since the famine of last year the irreconcilable wing of the extreme communists has been steadily losing strength and that today the controlling power lies with the Moderates who learned from that harrowing experience that Russia's peasantry is more powerful, economically and politically, than the proletariat of industrial workers in the towns and cities, and that Russia's rehabilitation necessarily depends upon the rapprochement with capitalism and Western economic principles.

CHANGING ECONOMIC POLICY

Upwards of two years ago I started to study the Russian situation from the standpoint of what opportunities might be eventually available for American industrial and commercial interests in that country. I met and learned the views of a number of Western Europe's leading statesmen, financiers and industrialists, who were deeply interested in Russian affairs,—men unalterably opposed to Bolshevism and all it represents. They all agreed not only that peace in Europe without economic order was a futile hope, but that Europe could not be revived if Russia, formerly

the granary of Europe, was left isolated and abandoned. Those leaders of Western Europe, to my then surprise, saw in Lenin, Tchitcherin, Krassin, and other Soviet leaders, constructive forces who not only understood the Russian psychology better than we of Western nations,—but men with the vision and capacity for leadership necessary to the gradual restoration of Russia to her place in the community of nations.

A year ago Lenin declared that communism had been a great mistake,—that it cannot exist in a ruined country, and that the Russians must eliminate their visionary political and economic theories in order to rebuild Russia into a rich country agriculturally, industrially and financially. Lenin stated that to do this would require twenty-five to fifty years. In order to successfully carry through the new economic policies, the Soviet Government decided first, to satisfy the peasant, 85% of the population. Thus Bolshevism died when its leaders openly admitted its failure and ceased practising it.

A year ago Tchitcherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government, declared his Government's readiness to offer guarantees to our Government that a stabilized government has been established in Russia; that the Soviet Government would recognize private property rights; and that terror no longer existed under the Soviet rule. Americans and Western Europeans who have visited Russia during the past year agree that the reign of terror is over, that trade is being resumed in an orderly manner, and that the Soviet Government shows every sign of stability. Her latest recognition of Western capitalistic ideas has been the authority granted to her State Bank to issue gold certificates backed by not less than one-fourth of the total amount issued, in precious metals, foreign currencies and bills of exchange.

RUSSO-ASIATIC AGREEMENT

At the Hague Conference Litvinoff, in behalf of the Soviet Government, offered, in return for political recognition by foreign powers, to have his Government both acknowledge its liability for Russia's external national debts and effectually compensate the

former foreign owners of property in Russia. Although no international agreement between governments resulted from that political conference, nevertheless, following that declaration the first private agreement was tentatively reached this September between Mr. Urquhart, head of the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated, Ltd., the most important British corporation formerly engaged in Russian industry, and Mr. Krassin, head of the Russian Trade Delegation, for the effectual restoration of the Russo-Asiatic's vast holdings in Siberia and the Urals.

That agreement was purely a business deal and in no sense political. It was concerned with adjusting the largest single private claim against Russia, involving £56,000,000, or more than one-fourth of the total claims of British subjects. It was unfortunate, therefore, that on the eve of its formal execution by the Moscow commissars, there was a sudden change in the international situation in the Near East produced by Kemal Pasha's victory, followed by Britain's declaration of opposition to Russia's participation in the general conference on the Turkish settlement. As a result the Soviet Government refused for purely political reasons, to ratify the settlement negotiated with the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated. The agreement has not been rejected, but its confirmation has been postponed for the time being. Last Monday Lenin publicly stated that it would soon be revived. In the opinion of many well-wishers of Russia, her confusion of a political situation with a purely private trade agreement, even though it be with the largest private British interest in Russia, has been a mistake. This opinion is held by many who at the same time also believe that Great Britain's attitude in refusing Russia's unlimited admission to the coming Lausanne peace conference to be a big mistake. No other nation, geographically, politically and commercially, seems to have more vital interests at stake in the settlement of the Turkish problems than Russia. If she is not there, no settlement can either effectually dispose of her rights, or exclude the possibilities of new animosities and discontent.

RESTORING PROPERTY RIGHTS

If we eliminate the political phases which unfortunately have been injected into the basis of this proposed settlement with

respect to the vast and varied industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises of the Russo-Asiatic Company, we find the settlement has been favorably regarded by the best informed observers here and abroad as a highly significant recognition by the Russian Government that the Soviet's efforts to reconcile their theories with business realities has proven a failure, and that Russia now sees that ruin alone has resulted from a system where the government owned and tried to manage everything. Russia seems now convinced that there must be a return to Western capitalistic ideas and that foreign capital so desperately needed in her rehabilitation will only be forthcoming as Russia recognizes both her debts and the effectual ownership of private property.

The important thing to consider is not the words, but the substance and practical effect of the new Soviet policy of restoring private property formerly owned by foreign nationals. Under the proposed Russo-Asiatic agreement, the Soviet Government, although it has not abandoned its policy of "State ownership", has proposed granting a ninety-nine year lease with rights equally effective as absolute ownership. Similarly while refusing to recognize "compensation",—a term about which there was endless political discussion at Genoa and the Hague,—Russia also has proposed giving effective recompense to a maximum of £2,000,000, of which £150,000 is to be paid in gold and the balance by fifteen year gold rouble bonds, for the losses incurred by confiscation and destruction of private property of this British corporation.

The European and the American press seemingly regarded the Krassin-Urquhart agreement as the most progressive step so far taken in Russia's evolution, and that her economic revival was no less important to the industrial interests of Western Europe than to Russia herself. In effect it recognizes the collapse of Bolshevism and other impractical theories, by giving effectual restitution of "nationalized" private property which still exists in kind capable of identification, and in effect restores property which has been destroyed, by providing working capital so as to rehabilitate the properties and resume operations.

It is also significant that after the politicians of thirty-three nations at Genoa and The Hague joined in endless discussion of principles, presenting difficulties which made impossible a broad international agreement with Russia, direct personal negotiations by England's leading industrialist in Russia were concluded on terms which were regarded as fair and workable. It is further convincing proof not only of the correctness of America's attitude of aloofness in Europe, so long as the differences between their Governments are principally matters of politics and politicians, but also demonstrates that men qualified by experience in big business and finance are better able to deal directly and in a practical way with important propositions affecting the restoration of Europe's trade and commerce, than men merely qualified by their participation in the turmoil of European politics.

THE OIL SITUATION

It has been reliably stated that the pre-war value of investments in Russian oil developments exceeded one and one-half billion dollars. The Nobels, with whom the Standard Oil of New Jersey is a partner, the Shell and various British, French and Belgian groups were the principal owners. Russian production during the pre-war period was almost 40% that of the world, but as a result of the revolution this dropped to under 10%. Close observers of the situation believe that when the Russo-Asiatic agreement is ratified it will furnish the precedent for the return or effectual restitution of these properties. In this connection, it is significant that the oil contract recently negotiated between the Soviet Government and a certain American group has merely to do with the development of an area in the Baku field in a section which always has been Russian State land, so that no question of former ownership is involved.

I have heard of no concession granted to foreigners by the Soviet Government which disposed of nationalized property formerly owned by other foreign nationals, but I do know of attempted negotiations for some of such properties by others than the former owners, which propositions the Soviet Government has refused to entertain.

SEEKS AMERICA'S HELP

On my recent visit abroad, I had extended conferences with Mr. Tchitcherin, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, with Mr. Krassin, the head of the Russian Trade Delegation at London, and with Mr. Stomaniakoff, Russia's Chief of Commerce at Berlin. They are Russia's leading representatives in Western Europe. Our talks were solely in respect to trade and not of a political nature. All of them emphasized their desire to secure America's good will and co-operation.

The difficulty in re-establishing relations with us seems largely political. It will be recalled that last August Secretary Hughes sounded the Soviet Government on a proposal to send an American Commission of Inquiry into Russia. It was believed that this was intended to open the way to recognition, provided conditions were found satisfactory. The Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs replied that such an official investigation would be permitted if, in return the Soviet Government and Russian people were allowed to send their own commission of investigation to study American conditions. There the matter dropped. While from the American standpoint we regarded the Soviet's counter-proposal as absurd, nevertheless, in order to understand that proposal, we must realize that the Soviet Government is today the only representative of one hundred and forty million Russian people. As a result of her catastrophic revolution and in their efforts to realize a new freedom, the Russian people have suffered indescribable horrors. The Russian mass psychology, so I am told, revolts at the suggestion that now, when all they have is a ruined country and what they regard as "freedom", politically they should be regarded by any other nation as inferior to any other free people. Russia, we know, has her internal political strifes like other European countries are having theirs. So have we in less measure in the United States. But in the opinion of men who have studied the situation from the practical business standpoint of Russia's natural resources and future trade opportunities, the important consideration is that Russia's revolution is behind her, and that with her rich and unlimited natural resources and enormous

population she will eventually emerge from the situation in a better position than most other countries of Europe.

RUSSIA'S DEBT

The national indebtedness of Russia to private foreign nationals is estimated at £750,000,000, of which about £200,000,000 is claimed by British, about £440,000,000 by French and about £100,000,000 by Belgians. This total of £750,000,000 is only about £150,000,000 more than her foreign debt was before the war. To the extent that she makes restitution, in whole or in part, to foreign industrial claimants, this amount will be substantially reduced. The pending settlement agreement with the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated, alone will effectually dispose of a £56,000,000 claim. It was proposed at both Genoa and The Hague that Russia's war-debts should be treated in the same way and on like conditions as those of other Allies. From present European tendencies, this will result in either a general or a substantial cancellation. It is thus manifest that if Russia recognizes her foreign debts on the basis laid down by the two conferences she will from the standpoint of national indebtedness extricate herself from the European financial chaos better than any other country of the European continent which engaged in the war.

WHAT TCHITCHERIN SAYS

Mr. Tchitcherin, at the conclusion of one of my recent conferences with him, handed me this signed statement: "The Russian people and Government are genuine in their desire to re-establish commercial relations with America. Russia has today practical aims. What she desires is trade. She will welcome the re-establishing of such trade relations in any form that can be developed along practical lines between herself and American interests. The Russian Government will gladly receive in Russia any serious and properly qualified American business men or commercial and industrial groups, who will come with practical aims for preliminary negotiations and discussions preparatory to establishing such ways for restoring trade."

The private claims of French nationals aggregate more than double the private claims of British nationals against Russia, but with this fundamental difference. The British are mostly industrial claims, that is, they arise from the nationalization of industrial properties, whereas the French claims, excepting only a very small amount, represent investments made in Russian gold franc bonds. To restore her industry, Russia finds that she must again attract large successful foreign industrialists, who have both the financial means and also the equally important proven capacity for successfully operating manufacturing concerns. As a first step toward bringing such foreign industrialists back into Russia, she finds it necessary not only to effectually restore the property of former foreign owners, but also to abandon her revolutionary Utopian communistic principles of economics. The Soviets call their new economics State Capitalism, but in substance and effect it differs but little from the capitalistic ideas of Western nations. To reattract the former class of investors in Russian government securities, who were largely the French people, she also finds it necessary to formulate proposals for the recognition and eventual payment of the obligations of the prior Russian Government. Thus we see further compelling reasons behind the highly important changes which have been steadily developing for upwards of a year in her adoption of a new policy respecting her debts, her finance and her industry. It is also one of the reasons why the Russian Government is so anxious not only to establish peaceful and friendly relations between herself and England and France, but also that existing differences between England and France on the Russian and Near East questions should be satisfactorily settled.

LENIN'S ATTITUDE

Lenin recently declared that the entire aim of the Soviet Government is to strengthen the foundations of this new economic policy and this he reaffirmed last week before the Communist Internationale, when he explained why, in the enormous task of reconstruction, this change was inevitable and how justified they are by the encouraging results even thus far attained.

There is a growing number of instances where important interests of various nationalities have either arranged or are now negotiating for concessions or the formation of mixed companies in Russia, half State and half foreign owned. In fact steps are now being taken for the formation of a private international group, consisting of important financial, industrial and trade interests in their several countries, which will have the power of their united strength and influence in such steps as may be taken toward active foreign participation in Russia's financial and economic revival.

The Krupp Company of Germany has recently taken a concession for the agricultural development of 56,000 acres near the Black Sea. This land formerly belonged to the Russian State and not to private owners. This idea originated with Dr. Wiedfeldt, now Germany's Ambassador to the United States, while he as Krupp's managing director after the war, was transforming the world's largest munition works into a prosperous industry of peaceful products. American agricultural machinery was extensively used in Russia prior to the war. Krupp purposes using this concession as a means of educating the Russian peasant in the use of modern farming implements. In that connection I may say that Krupp will welcome American participation in their plans for the development of this concession, thus working side by side with American interests in Russia instead of as rivals for this large agricultural implement business.

Mr. Krassin, among other things, explained to me the Soviet Government's policies with respect to the control of foreign trade and her oil fields. He pointed out what has happened to Austria, which foreign profiteers have swept "broom clean" of her treasures and movables, and what has been happening in a similar way to Germany, as justification for Russia's present monopoly of foreign commerce. Respecting the oil, he said that the objective was to avoid wasteful exploitation of such resources by competitive companies in the same field and that the regulations were intended to provide for economic development in a way similar to what the Mexican companies were now endeavoring to do in that country.

OPPORTUNITIES PRESENTED

It has been truly declared, *apropos* of the Russian situation, that " a cemetery is not the most suitable place in which to hold a conference on resuscitation". From such viewpoint let us approach the problem. The rich agricultural, oil, mining, timber, fur and other natural resources of Russia and Siberia as fields of opportunity, are too well recognized to require comment. Russia's demand for locomotives, cars and other materials to restore her railway transportation and for all kinds of manufactures to fill the consumptive demand of one hundred and forty million people, after they have been adequately restored to economic life, should also appeal to the vision of American industry.

The question is, how and in what direction shall we begin? We hear much of the opportunity of rebuilding the destroyed Russian factories. I am of the opinion that such a plan is not the most inviting for initial ventures. Firstly, there are entirely too many idle factories in Europe and too much unemployment there to give any advantage to restored Russian factories, and secondly, it appears politically unwise, because Russia has still many visionaries and communists who would probably find in any manufacturing industry employing a large number of workers a good field for keeping alive their propaganda. The general consensus of opinion is that a program beginning with production from her agricultural, oil, timber, metals, iron, fur and other natural resources would be safer and more practical. The development of such resources would be carried on far from the centers of urban population, namely, in Siberia, in South Russia, on the Black Sea and in North Russia. This would greatly reduce and probably eliminate the risk of unrest from communist propagandists.

POLITICAL RECOGNITION

I have purposely avoided discussion of political recognition and other political angles of the situation. At the same time I would remind you, that despite our refusal to give political

recognition to Mexico, important American interests have continued developing Mexico's natural resources and are carrying on substantial lucrative trade with her.

It will be recalled that a Trade Delegation from the Far East Republic of Chita visited Washington last winter, without our Government first sending an official commission of inquiry there. Washington appears to have held out the promises of recognition to that Siberian Republic, which is soon to be officially united with the Soviet Republic. Russia will then control the balance of power in the Pacific. At the Washington conference for discussing questions of the Pacific and the Far East, the interest of Russia in these matters was disregarded and weighty decisions were reached with other nations in the absence of any representatives from Moscow. We have recognized the sovereignty of the Baltic States. There is a growing likelihood, however, that the Baltic States, for economic reasons, will again unite with Russia. Russia is also bound to play an important role in the Lausanne Conference on the Turkish settlement, to which Secretary Hughes has appointed American observers. Russia does not want the Straits controlled by British guns or the Black Sea a lake for British warships. She wants the Straits closed to all armed ships in peace and war and full freedom for commercial shipping. Our government is on record for the unlimited freedom of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus. Russia like ourselves is also opposed to the League of Nations. Thus, in view of the growth of Soviet power in international affairs, America's necessity to protect our important interests in the Near East and the Far East, the traditional friendship of the American and the Russian people, which was greatly strengthened by our $65,000,000 of grain relief in her famine, and the manifest desire unmistakably shown by the Soviet Government and the Russian people for our friendship above that of any other nation, it would seem that official recognition of the Soviet Republic will not be unduly postponed.

Although at this time there appears to be, with certain of our political groups, a growing sentiment in favor of our officially recognizing the Soviet Government, nevertheless the controlling

sentiment seems to still support our traditional attitude that full recognition should be withheld until the Soviet Government, as such, has shown itself truly representative of the Russian people in accordance with our principle of recognizing political sanction as justly derived from the consent of those governed. But until such time as we shall officially recognize her only government, there appears to be no valid reason why our country, in keeping with its traditions, should longer refrain from allowing a Trade Delegation from Soviet Russia to enter our doors,—such a delegation as has been welcomed by Great Britain and most of the other European countries. That delegation, though appointed by the Soviet Government, should be composed of men of the progressive and moderate type, who should be afforded the opportunity to come here to freely meet our statesmen, bankers and industrial leaders, in order to consider what can be done in a practical way to facilitate restoring over one hundred and forty millions of Russian people to orderly economic life and prosperity.

FURTHER INVESTIGATION UNNECESSARY

There seems no valid reason why, as a condition precedent to our admitting a purely trade delegation, we should officially investigate Soviet Russia. Through the American Relief Association's representatives in all parts of Russia, which organization is headed by Secretary of Commerce Hoover, our government has certainly kept itself fully informed of everything, probably better than any other nation, and possibly learned more than could be ascertained by a purely official political investigation. Russia has acknowledged that Bolshevism is a failure. She admits her industries are ruined. Her prayers for succor are a confession that her communistic experiment in agriculture has resulted in famine. What more is there to investigate?

Russia's representatives have declared their willingness to welcome and afford facilities for investigation to any American interest or group genuinely desirous of seeking opportunities there for industrial development or trade. She is also willing to send a strictly trade delegation here for the purpose of discussing ways and means for American interests to participate in Russia's

economic rehabilitation and development. These are the two simple practical ways of promptly approaching the realities of actual trade. When we shall have availed ourselves of either or both of these methods, we shall have made a start in a practical way to restore economic prosperity not only to Russia but also to Europe, without which impairment of world trade must continue. We can afford to be,—so let us be,—as broad visioned in our constructive assistance to effect *permanent* relief as we have shown ourselves to be big and generous in doing charity which can effect only *temporary* relief.

J2350

THE EVENING POST JOB PRINTING OFFICE INC.
154 FULTON STREET, NEW YORK

22237

END OF
TITLE